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Imperial Influences on the Forms of Papal Documents

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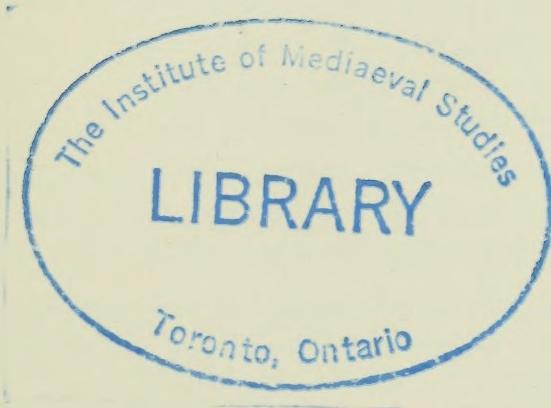
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IMPERIAL INFLUENCES ON THE FORMS OF PAPAL DOCUMENTS

BY REGINALD L. POOLE

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Communicated October 31, 1917

THE relations between the Papacy and the Empire on the one side and the Frankish kings on the other during the eighth century form a large and complicated subject for study. My present purpose is only to show how the changes in those relations are reflected in the forms of documents. I take first the manner of dating bulls. The traditional rule had been to record the regnal year of the Emperor, and it had been the practice that the election of a Pope should be confirmed by the Exarch of Ravenna; when therefore the Exarchate was conquered by the Lombards in 751,¹ it might perhaps have been expected that the Imperial date would disappear from Papal documents. But in fact it was maintained, possibly from force of habit, for more than twenty years longer. The last instance in which it has been found is in a solemn bull granted by Hadrian I to the monastery of Farfa in 772, which concludes with the words

Data x. Kalendas Martii, imperantibus domno nostro piissimo Augusto Constantino a Deo coronato magno imperatore anno liii., et post consulatum eius anno xxxiii., sed et Leone magno imperatore eius filio anno xxi., Indictione x.²

How much longer the Imperial date continued in use cannot be precisely stated. During the nine years following, though at least twenty-three genuine documents of Pope Hadrian are preserved, they are all letters of the simpler type which did not contain an elaborate date.³ It is not until nearly the end of 781 that in place of the

¹ The exact date is not recorded: see T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vii. (1899) 163. But the Farfa Chartulary contains a document of King Aistulf dated at Ravenna, 4 July in his third year and the fourth Indiction, that is, in 751: *Regesto di Farfa*, ii. (1879) 33, no. 18.

² *Ibid.*, p. 85, no. 90.

³ These, all addressed to Charles the Great, are to be found in the *Liber Carolinus*, last edited by W. Gundlach, in *Monum. Germ. Hist.*, Epist. iii. (1892) 566–601. The letter to Archbishop Tilpin of Rheims, given by Flodoard, *Hist. Rem. Eccl.* ii. 17, is also without date. Its genuineness has been disputed: see Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 2nd ed., no. 2411.

Imperial date we find the year of the Pope's pontificate, prefaced by an entirely different formula. This appears in a letter of 1 December 781 addressed by Hadrian to Fulrad the archpriest and Maginar the abbot conferring privileges on the monastery of St. Denis. The final clauses here run as follows :

Scriptum per manum Theodori Notarii et Scriniarii in mense Novembrio, inductione suprascripta quinta. Bene valete. Data Kal. Decembris regnante Domino et salvatore nostro Iesu Christo, qui vivit et regnat cum Deo patre omnipotente et spiritu sancto per immortalia saecula, anno pontificatus nostri in sacratissima beati Apostoli Petri sede¹ Deo propitio decimo, inductione quinta.²

If the change was first made in that year, it may be connected with Charles the Great's second visit to Rome at Easter, when two of his sons were baptized by the Pope; but we cannot say for certain that it was not done seven years earlier, when Charles on his first visit to the city also kept Easter there.

For more than one reason, to which I shall turn shortly, it may be taken as certain that the change of the form of dating was adopted under Frankish influences, and therefore most probably when the Frankish king and his attendants were at Rome; but emissaries were passing backwards and forwards all through these years, and it may have been by any one of them that the new form was suggested. The innovation marked a change which was compatible with a closer advance towards the Franks, but it need not be inferred that it was designed to precipitate a breach with the Empire in the East. Indeed, in this very year, 781, a daughter of Charles was betrothed to Constantine VI. Placed as he was in the midst between two great powers, Hadrian was no doubt gravitating towards the West; he relied upon Charles for the maintenance and increase of his temporal dominion. But ecclesiastical and other reasons forbade his provoking the enmity of the Emperor. Hence, as it seems to me, he omitted the Imperial date as an element in his documents on the supposition that it had become obsolete when the Imperial authority in Upper Italy was overthrown by the Lombards. No doubt such a theory would be legally untenable: the Exarch was merely the representative of the Emperor, and when he was displaced his authority reverted to his master; but as a fact that authority was never acknowledged by the Popes after 781, and the Imperial date disappeared. Its place was taken not by any words implying a recognition of the Frankish

¹ Printed *sub die*.

² Edited in Baluze's *Miscellanea* (ed. Mansi), iii (1762), 3 b, from the Paris MS. Colbert 5034 (now Lat. 2777), assigned to the tenth century.

power but by the date of the year of the Pontificate. To this was prefixed a formula which has no chronological reference but is a simple statement of the Divine government. It has a long history which deserves examination all the more since it now for the first time is found as a part of the date at the end of a document, using this word in its technical sense.

The formula runs, with some variations in detail, as follows :

regnante domino Deo et Salvatore nostro Iesu Christo cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto per infinita secula.

It is in substance identical with the words by which the records of the Acts of Martyrs were habitually closed, and is of high antiquity. We can trace it so early as in the letter of the Church of Smyrna reporting the martyrdom of St. Polycarp in A.D. 155 or 156 :

*βασιλεύοντος δὲ εἰς τὸν αἰώνας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ω̄ ή δόξα, τιμή,
μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος, ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν· Ἀμήν.¹*

The words are possibly an addition to the original text, but if so they are a very early addition. They were deemed so appropriate, we may almost say so necessary, for the termination of such Acts that we find them added in other narratives. For instance, in the Acts of the Scillitan martyrs, A.D. 180, they are absent from the original Latin but appear in the Greek translation;² and in the Greek Acts of St. Apollonius they are considered to be a later insertion.³ But the wide diffusion of the formula⁴ is evidence of its antiquity, and the supposition of several modern scholars that it must have been constructed subsequently to the invention of the reckoning of the year of the Incarnation by Dionysius Exiguus early in the sixth century is based simply on a confusion of ideas, since it has no chronological significance at all.⁵

The derivation of the formula is unquestionable, but how it came to be introduced into documents is obscure. I do not know that it was so used in Italy, but it is found in Anglo-Saxon charters from the early part of the eighth century, and perhaps very much earlier ; and

¹ xxi., in Lightfoot's Apostolic Fathers, 2nd ed., II. iii. (1889) 400.

² See J. Armitage Robinson, The Passion of St. Perpetua, in Texts and Studies, I. ii. 107 ff. (1891).

³ *Kατὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ω̄ ή δόξα εἰς τὸν αἰώνας :* Acta S. Apollonii, § 47 b, p. 130, ed. E. T. Klette (1897).

⁴ I had copied out a series of specimens from Ruinart's *Acta Sincera Martyrum* (2nd ed., 1717), but need not print them as they are cited by Bishop Lightfoot, op. cit., II. i. 636.

⁵ Cf. Lightfoot, p. 635. His remarks on p. 503 about the Acts of the Scillitan martyrs need revision in the light of Dr. Robinson's later work on their text.

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these unquestionably derived their form and structure from Italian models. Here the words

Regnante domino nostro Iesu Christo

are written at the head of the document; they have nothing to do with a date, but serve practically as an alternative to the more usual invocation

In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi.

In no charter of undoubted genuineness are they combined with any date of time. I cannot therefore think that Pope Hadrian I took the phrase from an Italian source, but he may have learned it from the Frankish formulary of Marculf. This book is believed to have been compiled about the year 700; it is more probably a little later, and there is no certain trace of its having been used as a guide for the writing of documents until 741.¹ Here we find the formula introducing a date by the year (apparently of the Incarnation), the Regnal year, and the day, at the head of a will:

Regnante in perpetuo domino nostro Iesu Christo, qualibet² anno
illo regnante rege illo, sub die illo.³

As the collection became current as a manual towards the middle of the eighth century, it is likely that it was from it, directly or indirectly, that Hadrian's clerks took the formula. They adopted the whole clause, substituting the Pontifical for the Regnal year, and introduced it at the place in which the Popes had been accustomed to insert the date, namely, at the end of the document.

It is interesting to observe that a century later the formula *Regnante Christo* was the specific mark of an interregnum. It was so used, in the form

Regnante imperatore domno Ihesu Christo,

by Pope John VIII on 3 October 875, during the interval between the death of the Emperor Lewis II on 12 August and the coronation of Charles the Bald at Christmas.⁴ This may possibly have arisen from Pope Hadrian's practice being regarded as indicating an interregnum between Byzantine and Frankish supremacy. In the tenth century the formula appears not infrequently, especially in Burgundy, when the succession was uncertain or disputed. But I cannot believe that it was chosen with any signification of this sort by Hadrian. In

¹ See K. Zeumer, *Formulae* (*Monum. Germ. Hist.*, Leg. v, 1886), pp. 33 f.

² *Sic.*

³ ii. 17, *ibid.*, p. 86.

⁴ *Cod. Diplom. Fulensis*, ed. E. F. J. Dronke (1850), pp. 279 f., no. 618.

the Anglo-Saxon charters of the time it is prefixed to a large number of documents granted by kings.

It was not until nearly the end of the eighth century that the Pope abandoned this formula and inserted the Regnal year of the Frankish king in Italy. On 20 April 798 Leo III dated a document

domini Caroli excellentissimi regis Francorum et Langobardorum
et patricii Romanorum a quo cepit Italiam anno xxv.¹

Then after Charles's coronation at Rome on Christmas Day 800 we find the full date in the Imperial style. It runs something like this, though in the absence of originals the form is uncertain; perhaps at first it was not regular:

imperante nostro domino Carolo piissimo perpetuo Augusto a Deo
coronato anno tertio.²

This date not only appropriated the form used by the Eastern Emperors, but it also led to a revival of the reckoning *post consulatum* and made it equivalent to the Imperial year, e. g.

Imperante domino nostro piissimo perpetuo Augusto Karulo a Deo
coronato magno Imperatore anno primo et post consulatum anno
primo.³

This was not due to Frankish influence, for the Carolingians did not assume the Consular title:⁴ it was simply a mechanical repetition of the formula as it had been in use down to 772; and, not understanding the nature of the Consular dignity in the East, the Papal clerks treated the date *post consulatum* as chronologically identical with the Imperial year.

This mode of dating continued, except during two interregna, for a little more than a century. It ceased with the eclipse of the Empire in the time of Lewis III, who was blinded and driven out by Berengar

¹ A. Brackmann, *Germania Pontificia*, i (1911), p. 8, no. 7 (Jaffé, Reg. 2498); from which the date has been inserted by a modern editor in another document of the same date, *Epist. Karolini Aevi*, in *Monum. Germ. Hist., Epist.* v. (1899) 59, note h (Jaffé, Reg. 2495): see Brackmann, l. c., no. 8.

² To Fortunatus, Patriarch of Grado, 21 March 803: set out by Andrea Dandolo, *Chronicon*, vii. xiii. 25, in Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, xii. (1728) 153.

³ John VIII's bull for Tournus, 876, in J. von Pflugk-Harttung's *Specimina Selecta Chartarum Pontificum Romanorum*, i. (1885) 6.

⁴ In one single instance Charles the Great used *consulatus* as equivalent to *imperium*. This was in an Italian capitulary of 801, *anno vero regni nostri in Frantia XXXIII, in Italia XXVIII, consulatus autem nostri primo*: *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ed. A. Boretius (*Monum. Germ. Hist., Leg.* ii), i. 204, no. 98 (1883).

of Friuli in 905;¹ and when Berengar was crowned Emperor ten years later it was not resumed. The restoration of the Empire by Otto the Great in 962 was naturally soon followed by the restoration of the Imperial date, without however the mention of the *Post Consulatum*, in Papal documents; we find it under John XIII,² but it did not last beyond the reign of Henry II.³ When the series of German Popes began under Henry III we might have expected that the date would be uniformly admitted. But it was not so. Under Clement II indeed we find two documents in 1047 bearing a simple Imperial date, with no honorific titles;⁴ but when Bruno bishop of Toul became Pope in the following year, as Leo IX, he definitely abandoned it. This is all the more remarkable because he was a great organizer of his Chancery. But it will be remembered that, though he was elected at Worms, he declined to assume the Pontificate until he had been formally accepted at Rome.

After this time the Imperial year is found only on two occasions. One of these is in a document of the Antipope Guibert of Ravenna, otherwise Clement III, who was set up by the agency of the Emperor Henry IV. He is not recognized as a Pope, and the document therefore does not concern us.⁵ The other occasion occurred at

¹ The last known instance is found in a document of Sergius III of 904, *Imperante domno piissimo perpetuo Augusto Ludovico a Deo coronato magno imperatore anno IIII, et post consulatum eius anno IIII, Indictione VIII*: Migne, Patrol. Lat. cxxxii. 972 (Jaffé, Reg. 3533).

² It appears in a bull of Leo VIII dated 9 December 964 (a mistake for 963), which is preserved in a late mediaeval transcript and printed by Dr. von Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta Pontificum Romanorum Inedita*, ii (1884), no. 81. But this document has long been suspected (see Jaffé, Reg. 3700), and is now condemned as spurious: Brackmann, *Germania Pontificia*, i. 15, no. 32.

³ Dr. Bresslau's statement (which I repeated in my Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery, p. 49, 1915) that the Imperial year of Conrad II seems to be used by the Pope only once, and that when the Emperor was in Italy (*Handbuch der Urkundenlehre*, i. 837, ed. 1, 1889), rests on a mistake. The one example cited (Jaffé, Reg. 4080) is a mere abstract of a bull for Cluny (*Chartes de Cluny*, no. 2798, vol. iv, 1 f., 1888). It ends with the following clauses:

Dominus Humbertus episcopus Valentiniensis propria manu hoc firmavit
Dominus Wigo frater ipsius similiter propria manu hoc firmavit

Anno primo consecrationis domni Conradi imperatoris.

The date is obviously that of the confirmation by these Burgundians, not that of the bull itself. Dr. Bresslau's error is the more remarkable since he devoted special attention to the document in his *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Konrad II*, ii. (1884) 489.

⁴ *Anno domini Clementis secundi papae primo, domni Henrici tertii imperatoris similiter primo*: Migne, cxlii. 585 f. (Jaffé, Reg. 4150).

⁵ *Anno dominice incarnationis LXXXVI, imperante Heinrico tertio Romanorum Augusto, anno imperii eius ii*, with no Pontifical year: Mittarelli, *Annales Camaldulenses*, iii. (1758) 40.

perhaps the most tragic moment in the history of the Papacy. In 1111, when the violence of Henry V had reduced Paschal II to abject submission and compelled him to perform the coronation in St. Peter's, the Pope retired to an obscure spot on the Island in the Tiber, and there two days later perforce concluded his bulls

Datum Romae in insula Lycaonia per manum Iohannis sanctae Romanae ecclesiae diaconi cardinalis ac bibliothecarii vice domini F[iderici] archicancellarii et Coloniensis archiepiscopi, xvii Kal. Maii, indictione iv, incarnationis dominicae anno mci., pontificatus autem domni P[aschalis] secundi papae anno xii, imperio vero H[enrici] quarti imperatoris anno primo.¹

Before leaving these chronological details, I will mention another point in which Imperial influence is unmistakable. This is the employment of the year of the Incarnation. Though the system of reckoning from the *Annus Domini* was devised as early as 525, it was not until just two hundred years had elapsed that it was brought into currency by the publication of the Venerable Bede's treatise *de Temporum Ratione*. From that time it became an established element in the dating of charters in England, but in England only. It passed to the Continent by the means of Anglo-Saxon missionaries and scholars. St. Boniface took it with him into the Frankish kingdom.² But it does not appear to have been regularly employed in the Royal Chancery until the last quarter of the ninth century,³ from which time it became a fixed element in diplomas. The Popes never adopted it until after the Imperial coronation of Otto the Great in 962. Three years later John bishop of Narni was elected at the Emperor's nomination. This Pope, John XIII, was grievously mishandled by the Romans and driven into exile; but in the following year, when it was known that Otto was on his way to Italy, he was hurriedly recalled. Otto took terrible vengeance on John's adversaries in Rome, and for the rest of his Pontificate he was unmolested. It was during these years, when the strength of the Empire was most vigorously exercised, that the Pope introduced into his bulls not only, as we have seen, the dating by the Imperial year, but also the dating by the year of the Incarnation in the form which had become established in the Imperial

¹ Udalrici Codex, cli (in Jaffé's *Monumenta Bambergensia*, 1869, p. 279), calendared in Jaffé's Reg. 6291.

² See Carloman's capitulary of 21 April 742: *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, i. 24.

³ Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre*, i. 839 (ed. 1): Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique* (1894), p. 89. An isolated diploma of earlier date is an original of Pippin II, King of Aquitaine, dated 839, which is preserved among the archives of Solignac at Limoges: see the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, lxii. (1901) 715.

Chancery.¹ It was not, however, uniformly inserted in Papal documents until Leo IX made a fresh reorganization of his system eighty years later. Here and elsewhere I speak only of the more solemn form of Papal document, the Privilegium, for the features on which I comment are not found in simple letters.

I return now to the eighth century and to Hadrian I. When this Pope abandoned the Byzantine Imperial date and substituted the year of his Pontificate, he made also a great change in the form in which the date was expressed. His object was plainly to distinguish the responsibility of the scribe for the correctness of the text of the document from that of a higher official for the fact that it had the Pope's authority. He therefore introduced a Scriptum at the end of the text, and then, after the Pope had written his Subscriptio, added the Datum of the official. I quote an example of 1 November 782 :

Scriptum per manus Iohannis scrinarii in mense Octubrio indictione supradicta sexta. + Bene valete.

Data Kalendas Novembbris per manus Anastasii scrinarii regnante domino Deo et Salvatori Iesu Christo cum Deo Patre omnipotenti et Spiritu sancto per infinita secula. Anno Deo propitio pontificatus domni Adriani in apostolica sede undecimo. indictione sexta.²

It is not unlikely that this division of the date into two parts was suggested by the double date which was one of the first marks of orderly method set up by King Pippin in the Frankish Chancery. There, it is true, the division rested on a different principle. The Datum, as in the Papal form, certified the authority for the document; and it was followed by the Actum, which registered the place where the business was done. But though the Datum had been used by the Popes for centuries and the Scriptum may now have been introduced from an Italian source, it is under Hadrian, when Frankish influences were coming in, that we first find the combination of the two elements.

But the introduction of the name of the higher official of the Chancery gave an opening for the adoption of an organization which

¹ There is evidence of this between 968 and 970. See an example of 17 December 970, in Muratori's *Antiquitates Italicae*, iii. (1740) 235. The insertion of this date has been attributed to Leo VIII. But it is not found in the document (Jaffé, Reg. 3702) as printed in Baluze's *Miscellanea* (ed. Mansi), iii. 5, where it breaks off imperfectly in the Scriptum. The date is taken from a modern collection of transcripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 12762.

² Recited in a corrupt text in a notarial act of 1053 relating to St. Apollinaris in Classe at Ravenna : Mittarelli, *Ann. Camaldulenses*, i (1755), app. iii (Jaffé, Reg. 2437).

was directly borrowed from the system of the Empire. Down to the eighth century the whole business of drafting and executing Papal documents had been in the hands of the College of Notaries, a body of men who were entirely bound up with the traditions of their office. It was natural that a Pope who proposed to introduce changes in his system should wish to employ a secretary—for such he really was—who was personally dependent upon him. Hadrian took the preliminary step of appointing a Librarian—previously the Library together with the Archives had been in the charge of one of the higher Notaries—but it was not until the first quarter of the ninth century that the Librarian is found to have been employed to add the date to documents. Thenceforward the Librarian was in fact the head of the Chancery, though there are a few instances of one of the chief Notaries taking his place.¹ It was he who regulated all the details connected with the production of the Pope's documents. The system, as we might expect in a period when the Papacy rarely exerted itself to go outside the traditional track, was conducted in a conservative spirit, and underwent no marked change until the revival of the Empire by Otto the Great. The documents were still written in the Curial handwriting, an artificial and highly intricate development of the ancient Cursive. But when Otto secured the election of John XIII, the same Pope who revived the Imperial date and introduced the year of Grace into his bulls, a conspicuous alteration was made in the writing of the Datum. While the entire text of the document continued to be written in the Curial hand, the certificate of the Librarian was written in that beautiful delicate character, the Caroline Minuscule, which had been in use in the North for not far short of two centuries.² This distinction of handwriting between the document itself and the Datum was retained until the Curial hand silently died out early in the twelfth century. What is of interest here is that the Minuscule was brought in under a Pope who owed his position specifically to Imperial influence, and to whom was due the adoption of two distinct notes of time, both derived from the Imperial Chancery.

But the Librarian had not yet assumed the Imperial title of Chancellor. Even under Otto III and Silvester II, when great attention was paid to ceremonial forms, there is no trace of a Chancellor. He suddenly emerges for a brief space, two years after Silvester's death.

¹ See my *Lectures on the Papal Chancery*, pp. 55 f.

² See a facsimile of part of a bull for Bologna, 15 April 967, in Pfugk-Hartung's *Specimina*, i. 8. Mabillon, *de Re Diplomatica* (ed. 1709), p. 444, gives a remarkable specimen from a bull for St. Remigius at Rheims, 23 April 972 (Jaffé, Reg. 3763), which is entirely written in Minuscule. This appears to be a unique exception.

If the adoption of the title was due to Imperial influence, we can only surmise that it was an afterglow of the day of Imperial splendour; for in 1005 there was no Emperor, and the Pope was in the hands of a civic faction at Rome. Nor was the title continued.¹ In 1042, however, Benedict IX, one of the Tuscan Popes, definitely established it; from that time the responsible head of the Chancery was styled Librarian and Chancellor of the Holy Apostolic See.² The title borrowed from the Empire led to further inroads on the old Papal system.

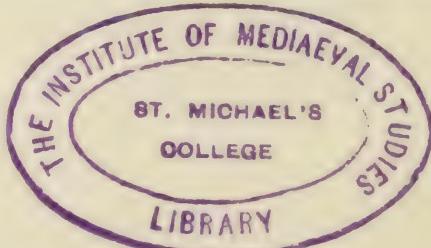
The revolution in the Papacy caused by the masterful intervention of the Emperor Henry III in 1046 was soon followed by a notable change in the whole appearance of the Pope's bull. The first two Popes who were brought in from the Empire lived less than a year, with an interval of Tuscan anarchy between them; but Leo IX, who was elected in 1048, had full range for impressing his personality on the system which he was called upon to administer. Of the importance of his ecclesiastical and political activity this is not the place to speak: I have only to deal with the manner in which Leo, a man of high intellectual cultivation and of an artistic temperament, reformed the aspect of his documents. Down to his time authority was given to them by the Pope's Subscriptio. Now a Subscriptio according to Roman tradition did not mean the signing of his name. It consisted of a final greeting, a farewell;³ and its form had gradually settled down to the words **BENE VALETE** written in Capitals, and preceded by a Cross. This Subscriptio was, at least in part, written by the Pope's own hand. The effect was clumsy, and the big Capitals made an unpleasing contrast to the Datum written in a shapely Minuscule. Almost immediately after his accession Leo determined to reconstruct his Subscriptio.⁴ He separated the Cross from the Bene Valete, and placed them on the left and right at the foot of the document. Between the limbs of the Cross he inserted his name; and he surrounded it by a double circle in which was written a text from the Psalter. This is known as the Rota. On the right hand he contracted the Bene Valete into a Monogram, in which the letters of the words were compressed into a rectangular framework. Both Rota and Monogram were written very large and stand out as the

¹ Papal Chancery, pp. 59 f.

² Ibid., pp. 62 f.

³ Cf. C. G. Bruns, *Die Unterschriften in den Römischen Rechtsurkunden*, in the *Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (philos. und hist. Klasse)*, 1876, pp. 53 ff.

⁴ See Papal Chancery, pp. 99 ff.



conspicuous features of the document. Part of the Rota was written in the Pope's own hand ; the rest was completed by a notary.

The Monogram is unquestionably derived from that which reproduced the Emperor's name in his diplomas. It was first used by Charles the Great and assumed various developments as it became necessary to reduce such unmanageable names as Cuonradus and Heinricus into a compact figure. The original basis was certainly a Cross with the letters of the name worked into and round it ; but this model was not always observed. The Monogram was matched by the Seal imposed on the face of the document. I cannot say that the two features, the Monogram and the Seal, balanced one another, for the places in which they were inserted were irregular.¹ But there were these two striking features, and Leo IX determined to transplant them in a better form into his documents. He could not take the seal, because his leaden seal was always pendent upon strings or ties. So he invented the Rota, which had the same shape as his seal and like it was surrounded by two circles. The seal on its two faces bore the inscription LEONIS | ^{IIII} | PAPAE ; but the Rota was a single figure, and so the Pope wrote the words short, LEO P. Having thus indicated his name on the left hand of his bull, there was no reason to repeat it on the right hand ; besides, the words BENE VALETE were a time-honoured form which could not be abandoned. He therefore constructed a Monogram out of these words. The two pictorial elements, the Rota and the Monogram, were written of the same size and placed so as to match exactly on each side of the document below the Scriptum. Thus he took the whole idea from the Imperial diploma, but very greatly improved on his model.

Soon afterwards, probably in June 1049, Leo took the important step of appointing the Archbishop of Cologne Arch-Chancellor of the Apostolic See. The Archbishop was already by virtue of his office the Imperial Arch-Chancellor of Italy ; he now became Papal Arch-Chancellor of Rome as well.² But though this was a mark of the harmony which subsisted at the time between Pope and Emperor, it led to no practical consequences ; for the Archbishop was content with the new dignity and with the emoluments which were attached to it, and never exercised his Roman functions except by deputy.

¹ See W. Erben, Kaiser- und Königsurkunden, in Erben, Schmitz-Kallenberg, and Redlich's Urkundenlehre, i. (1907) 155 f. A specimen of Henry III of 1043 is reproduced in Monumenta Graphica, v. ii.

² Once before, in 1023, an Archbishop of Cologne had been made Librarian, but it does not seem that this was more than a personal mark of honour.

Still, the formal annexation of the headship of the Papal Chancery to the see of Cologne gives the impression that at the beginning of Leo's pontificate it was intended to unify the administration of the Empire and Papacy in a way which had hardly been attempted before even during the reign of Otto III.

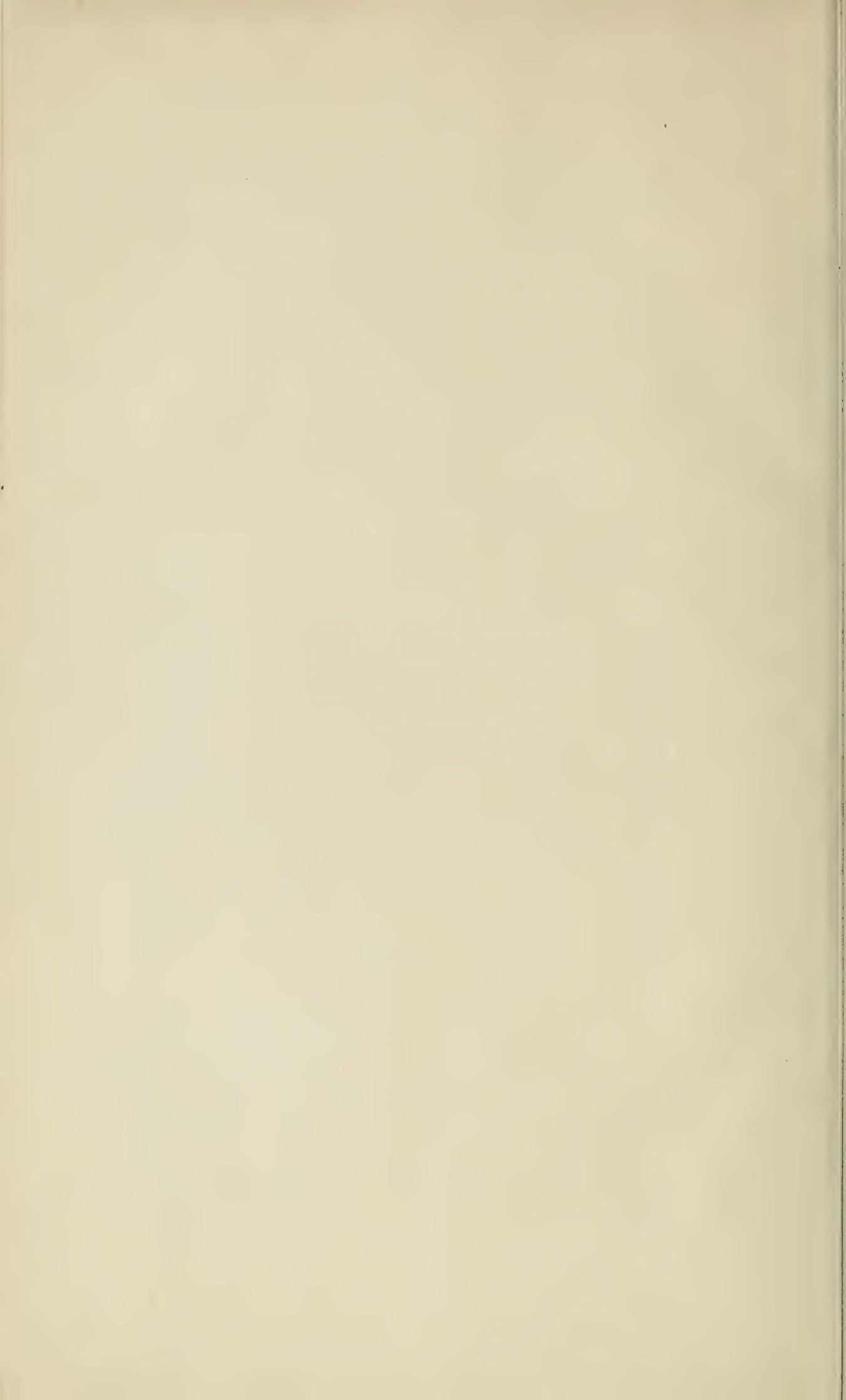
It is easy to exaggerate the significance of these features in their system which the Popes borrowed from the Empire. Their source is manifest, but their real meaning is apt to be misunderstood. In the eighth century the Popes were led by the political conditions of the time to welcome the protection of Charles the Great and all that it implied; but the Empire on which they depended crumbled away, and in the tenth and eleventh centuries they found themselves in an unenviable situation. Their administrative activity was hampered by the oligarchy of the College of Notaries. If they sought an escape from it, they fell into the hands either of a wild city faction or else of the lawless Counts of Tusculum. If they were to gain any independence, they must be masters in their own house; they must establish a business office over which they could exert personal control. They therefore first set up a Librarian, and then wishing to give him a more imposing title borrowed that of Chancellor from the Empire. The changes made under Otto the Great were no doubt forced upon, rather than originated by, the Papacy. They consisted of new formulae and of a reformed handwriting. But the tradition set on foot by the introduction of the Minuscule handwriting enabled the Pope gradually to emancipate himself from his traditional surroundings; for the Roman notaries could not write in that character. The freedom thus acquired was extended when the Pope was no longer permanently established in the city of Rome. Leo IX was the first Pope for ages past who went on his travels.¹ During a pontificate of five years he lived hardly more than six months in the city. Naturally, when he departed the Roman notaries were left behind; the tradition was broken; and even when Leo was resident in Rome he sometimes avoided the

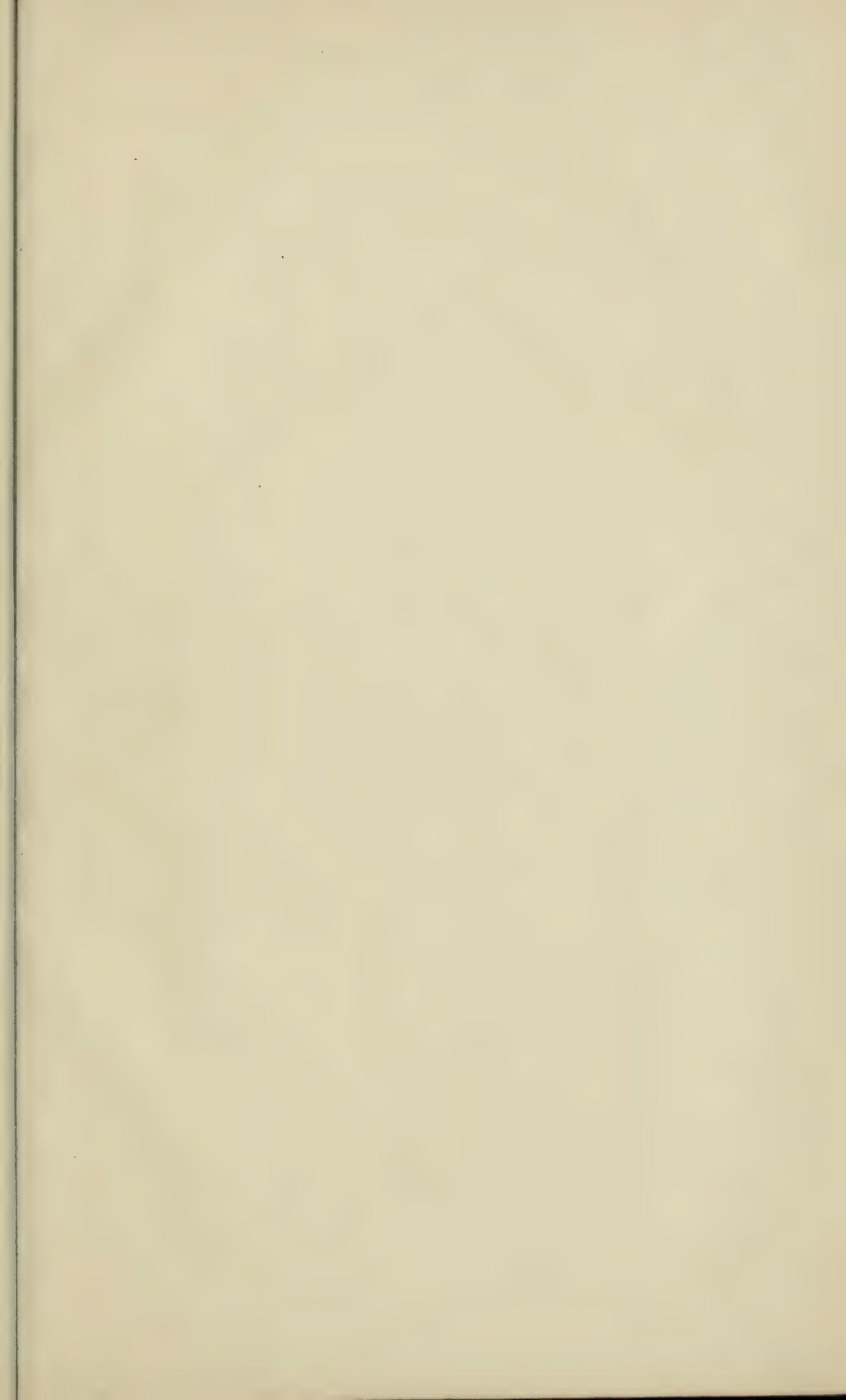
¹ Since John VIII spent half a year, from May to November 878, in different parts of France and Burgundy, no Pope had quitted Italy, with the exception of Benedict VIII, who was absent for a month in Germany in 1020. The alleged visit of Benedict IX to Marseilles in 1040 is open to suspicion, though it must be admitted, with Delisle (see the *Revue des Sociétés Savantes*, 2nd series, v. 534, 1861), that there is no proof that the Pope did not go to Gaul in that year. The positive evidence is contained in the act of consecration of the church of St. Victor at Marseilles, on 15 October 1140, which is drawn up in the name of Benedict IX, the Archbishop of Arles, and other prelates. It is last printed in *Gallia Christiana novissima*, Marseille, pp. 54-7, 1899, with a defence of its genuineness by J. H. Albanès.

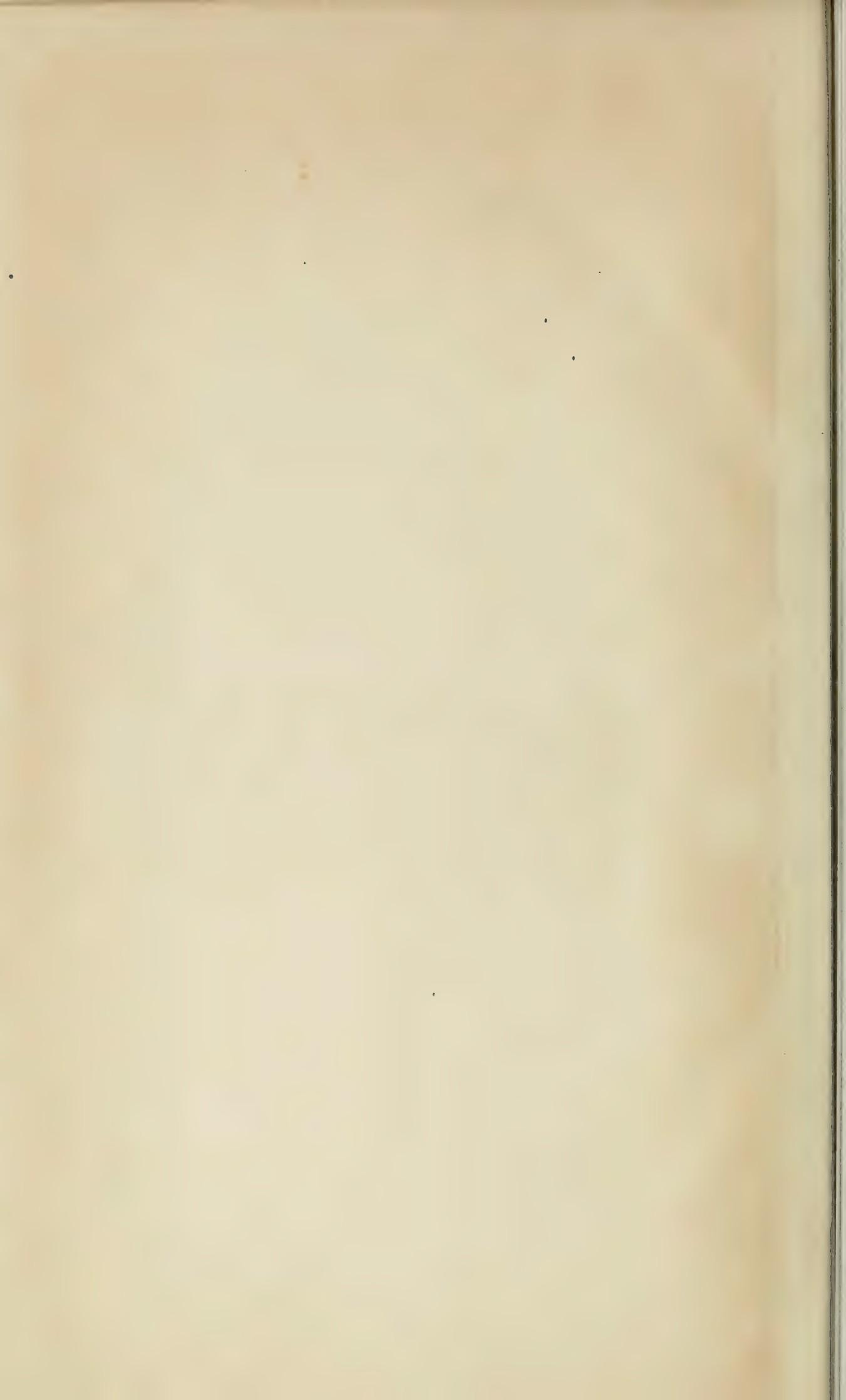
employment of the old staff.¹ The former system might reappear from time to time, owing to special circumstances ; but it was more and more passing out of use, and with the early part of the twelfth century the Pope is found managing his affairs by means of officials all of whom he appointed himself.

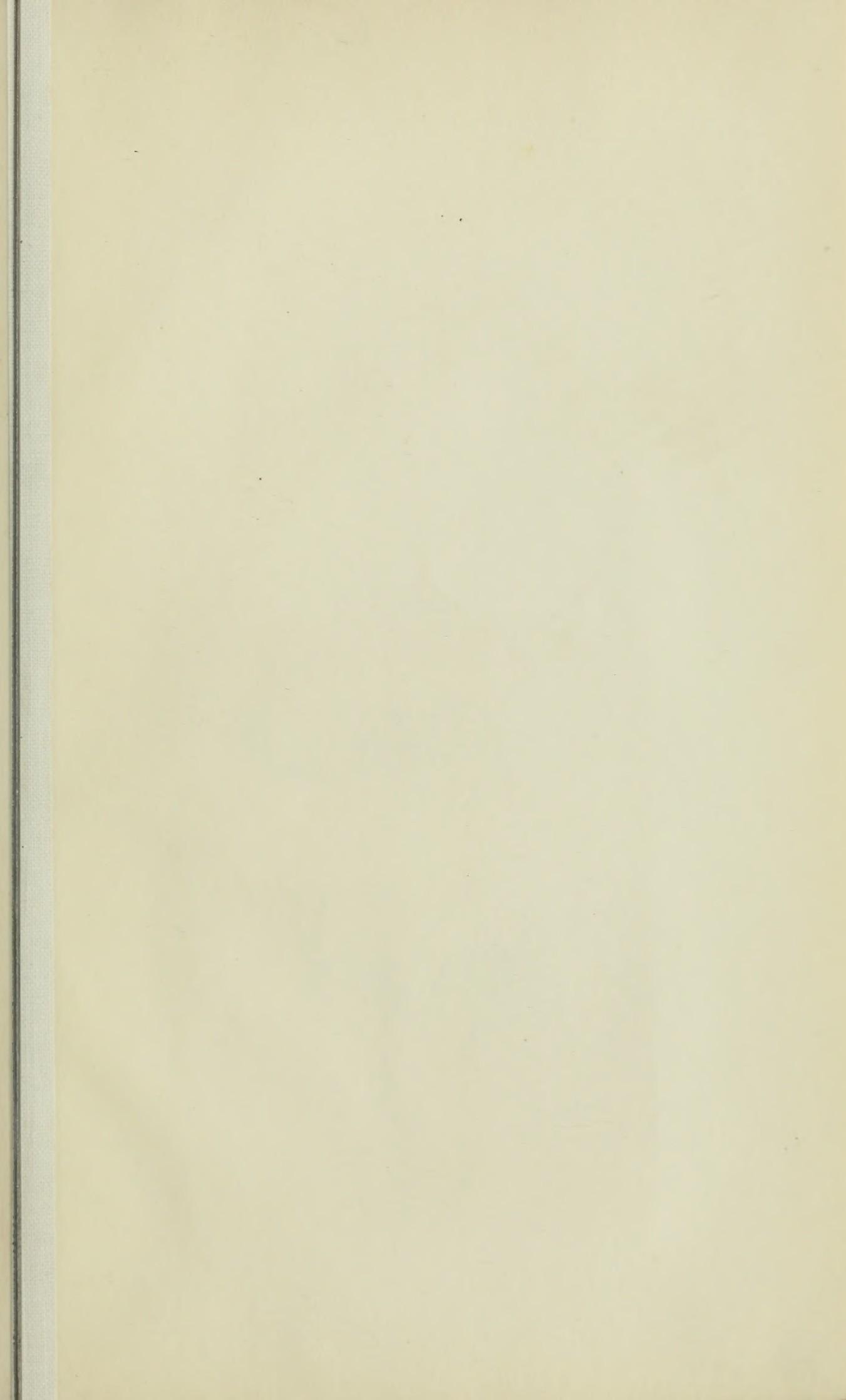
From that time there is no further question of Imperial influence upon the Papal system. What influence there was flowed in the opposite direction. It was the perfect regulation of the Papal Chancery, in all that concerned form and style and legal exactness, that reacted upon the Imperial lands, as upon the rest of Western Europe. When the class of notaries public, a specifically Italian institution, made its way into Germany, it diffused the methods which had been slowly evolved at Rome ; and Italy furnished the model from which the Imperial scribes learned the refinements of their art.

¹ See *Papal Chancery*, p. 66.











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